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ABSTRACT

An analysis of the Chicago businessmen's Association of Commerce's great influence in the public high schools, 1914-25, reveals Americanization and labor control as primary goals. The association organized and operated a vocational guidance bureau and three important high school clubs. A concerted enrollment effort netted the membership of roughly two-thirds of Chicago's students by 1920. Given a free hand in the schools by the superintendent, the association held direct control of the clubs' ideologies and activities through a centrally devised program which the schools' faculties carried out. A press club controlled the content of school newspapers. Original club objectives, civic pride, and community involvement faded before the major emphasis: sympathy and respect for the businessman's role and position. The Federation of Labor noted the association's motives; it argued that the close affiliation between the public school and the employers violated democracy, and that the psychological influence was worse than open and direct capitalist propaganda. The clubs were organized to fit the student into a classist, racist society; the association's vocational guidance counseled students to adopt the businessman's stereotype of the lower working class immigrant; and economic and political values were taught which would stablize the economy to guarantee continued profits. 'AJ)

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THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL, 1914-1925

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> More influential as a civic, social and business impulse than Chicago citizens may yet have appreciated is the energizing control which the Association of Commerce and the Board of Education, with indispensable cooperation, has established between business and the citizen of tomorrow in the high school. It is not a work that makes much talk but, like the educational curriculum itself, goes on and functions and contributes to the ideals and efficiency of Chicago's youth.
>
> Chicago Commerce Magazine

The businessmen of Chicago through their Chamber of Commerce, that was known as the Chicago Association of Commerce exerted great influence in the public high schools. This power was best demonstrated by their organizing and operating a vocational guidance bureau, and its control of some of the more important extra curricular activities.[1] Three high school clubs were organized by the Association; The High School Civic Industrial Club (1913): The Presidents Club (1914) and the High School Press Club (1920). Each club forged a major link in the chain by which the Association of Commerce controlled the extra curricular activities of the high school students.

A member of the Chicago Association of Commerce, George Landis Wilson, while on a business trip to Winnepeg Canada, learned that certain businessmen in that city had given talks to high school students on the trades, industries and professions. Wilson believed that the Association might profit by organizing a similar procedure for Chicago.[2] In the Associations 1912 annual report, L. Wilbur Messer, a member of the Committee of Vocational Education, saw a potential involvement for the Association with the high schools.[3] From these ideas two proposals were presented for consideration to the members of the Association: First to invite high school students to visit various industries in the Chicago area: Second to

invite the students to listen to Chicago businessmen discuss the business world.

High School Civic Industrial Clubs

The ideas expressed in the Chicago Association of Commerces' 1912 annual report, and the knowledge gained from a pilot program run at Senn High School in 1913, shaped the plan of the high school clubs program. The Association argued that by organizing these clubs businessmen would be able to mold the ideals of Chicagos' high school students. Charles D. Richards, Chairman of the Civic Industrial Committee of the Association of Commerce, stated in the 1914 annual report that Chicago lacked an organization to aid the students in receiving a clear picture of the civic and industrial conditions of Chicago. To achieve this end, the Civic Industrial Committee, "conceived the idea of organizing civic industrial clubs in the high schools of Chicago."[4] This project received the endorsement of Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools. She gave the Association permission to carry out its work as they saw fit. Thus the Superintendent encouraged the efforts of the business community to create, organize and direct this club within the public high schools.

The organizing of these clubs was publicized through the Associations magazine, the Chicago Commerce. They described them as extensions of the Association; The Civic Industrial Committee established "Branch Civic Industrial Committees in the high schools of Chicago."[5] The 1914 annual report of the Association stated that "Booklets setting for the general plan of organization, giving the purpose, naming the committees and outlining the constitution were presented to the individual clubs and distributed among the students."[6]

The clubs were to carry out a plan of action as defined by the Association; "one simple piece of work will be chosen for the clubs to follow out and digression from the accepted program will be discouraged."[7] Policy and direction were the province of the Chicago Association of Commerce, action and achievement were expected of these clubs. To further control the clubs, the Associations' Civic Industrial Committee required an annual activities report from each club. These reports were then judged by the Association for performance and a trophy was awarded to the club that carried out the best piece of constructive civic work. "These activities" the Chicago Commerce noted, "are to harmonize with the ideas of the Civic Industrial Committee in order that definite progress may be made."[8] A strong reminder that the driving force behind these clubs was the Association of Commerce. To keep the public from assuming that the clubs were appendages to the Association, they pointed to the endorsement of these clubs by the Superintendent of Schools, and their acceptance by the Principals of the various high schools thac had organized them. The Association insisted that it was not dictating the policy of the clubs. "Each club will be assisted in its organization, helped in planning its program, then turned loose on the job,"[9] conveniently omitting that the suggestions for activites came from the Association.

The growth of the Civic Industrial Clubs was rapid. By October 1914, twelve high schools had formed clubs. Programs were planned, speakers contacted and excursions organized. Public attention was focused on these clubs by the Associations magazine and the Chicago Tribune. In a reprint of an article published in the Chicago Commerce, the Tribune noted the berefits the students would receive

by visiting utilities, harbors, business plants and the city government. The Tribune praised the valuable lessons these clubs taught the students: for example understanding the community and how best the student can become a good citizen. The clubs taught the students to "think in terms of the city." The Tribune concluded by noting "we must work therefore upon the imagination of young America developing the citizen ideal of spontaneous co-operation, the spirit of the Corps and the devotion of the state to the whole."[10] The implication of the use of these clubs was quite clear. Echoing the sociology of Charles Ross and Edwin Cooley, in terms of the individual submerging his self in the community, the clubs were to train the public spirited citizen. These citizens would be especially amenable to the conceptions of community as expressed by the businessmen. Society would then have a logical order; the various classes would perform their assigned tasks, the businessmen would of course make the decisions for the masses who, they believed, were incapable of understanding their role.

This spirit of co-operation was also expressed by the industrial commissioner of Chicago, Pace, who noted that the activities of the clubs would succeed since it was patterned after the Chicago Association of Commerce with "everyman on a committee and every committee with a job."[11]

Presidents Club

The Presidents Council, or Club further solidified the Chicago Association of Commerces role as advisor/director to the Civic Industrial Clubs. By scheduling bi-weekly meetings with the club presidents, their faculty advisors

plus the principals of the high schools, the Association strengthened its influence over the clubs. The Presidents Club also functioned to organize all of the Civic Industrial Clubs into following a single, unified, year long plan of operation. Meetings were held where reports of the activities of the Civic Industrial Clubs were read.* George Counts in his book School and Society in Chicago, makes a telling point about the role of the Presidents Club in promoting an Association directed plan for the Civic Industrial Clubs.

> The council [club] would seem to constitute a vital connection between the Association and club memberships. The frequent meetings afford an excellent opportunity for interesting high school teachers in those civic enterprises which The Association regards as important.[12] (my emphasis)

Again the power of the Association to guide and control these clubs was quite evident. This close connection between the clubs, their advisors and the Association was aptly demonstrated at a meeting of the Presidents Club in March 1915. The announcement in the Chicago Commerce detailed that the meeting was to exchange views outlining the plans and devising methods "... For still greater and more effective cooperation between the [Civic Industrial] committee and the clubs."[13]

This meeting was a first step to unify the activities and goals of all the Civic Industrial Clubs in the Chicago high schools. The first combined effort the Association of Commerce decided upon would be the promotion of health and safety. Each club surveyed their respective neighborhoods to make sure they had proper sanitary disposal facilities; The Safety First Movement was a program to bring every child the benefit of being careful in the home and factory. As

*It should be noted that at these meetings high school organizations not affiliated with the Industrial Clubs also reported on their activities.

noted above, creation of civic pride and development of a sense of community was the goal of these clubs, especially in those high schools that had a large foreign population. Civic training then, was the backbone of the clubs. The Civic Industrial Committee noted the fact

> ... that if the oldest definition of education, namely training for citizenship, is still true, and it believes it is more true than ever before, than the Civic Industrial Clubs in the high schools play an important part in the education of the high school students.[14]

There is little doubt that these clubs were to expose the students to the civic and industrial questions of the day; allowing the students to be responsible for civic improvements, building a spirit of team work and creating a feeling of civic pride. However, given the businessmens' control of these clubs' the question remains as to the objectivity of the students conclusions regarding these civic industrial problems.

Expansion of the Civic Industrial Clubs

During the following four years the Association rapidly expanded the Civic Industrial Clubs in the high schools. In 1915-1916, about 15 high schools each had an average of 200 students enrolled in these clubs. However, the impact on the entire student population is evident because the nonmember student body usually attended the various lectures given by the Associations' speakers. The 1915 annual report of the Association boasted that '95 lectures had been given at which 52,000 students were in attandance."[15] Also during the 1915-1916 school year, the Association began to draw up a program that would unify each club into a single year long program. The club hand book gave the

clubs a uniform schedule of activities, meetings and a plan of organization. Realizing that the best method of achieving unified clubs was to involve the faculty, the handbook contained "... /a/ provision ... for contact between the faculty and the /Civic Industrial/ committee of the Association, which insures an understanding and sympathy from the schools' administration."[16] The hand book also required the clubs to hold 2 meetings a month, one a general business meeting, the other a lecture on a selected topic: to further insure that the topics were "correct" the Association gave the clubs a list of subjects;

> "the Civic Industrial Committee under whose auspices the clubs are organized, this week is mailing to all clubs a list of suggestions for addresses before their organizations and also forwarding a list of places which the committee thinks would prove of value and interest in connection with excursions."[17]

The Chicago Association was controlling the direction and philosophy of these clubs, using handbooks to guide the clubs, and the schools faculty to carry out its program.

The key to the success of these clubs was their acceptance by the various principals and faculty of the high schools. In general almost all of the faculties accepted these clubs. The advisor to the Lane Technical High School Clubs, Mr. John J. MacArty, stated that the clubs had given the students a favorable attitude toward the business organizations of Chicago and brought the students and the schools in "... closer touch with businessmen."[18]

Realizing that the Association needed the full cooperation of the faculty and principals of the high schools, the Chicago Association of Commerce in 1915 under the direction of the Civic Industrial Committee, held a faculty advisors and principals meeting. This meeting was to discuss the role of the Civic Industrail Clubs in the schools. Mr. John O'Leary,

Vice President of the Chicago Association of Commerce noted that "... [they wanted to] hear frank expressions from faculty members as to the place and usefulness of the Civic Industrial Clubs in the Schools."[19] Both faculty and principals generally agreed to the value of these clubs to the point where the implication was the clubs might be indispensable.

> ... their is a place for the civic industrial clubs in the high schools and that even in schools where activities which are outside of the regular curriculum are rather numerous the civic industrial clubs is not one which might readily be eliminated.[20]

It is clear that both faculty and principals accepted the role of the industrial clubs in the high schools. I do not think a hard sell was necessary since most of the values and ideals held by the principals and faculty would not be to far removed from the values and ideals of the typical businessmen of Chicago. To keep from sounding as if the Association was promoting or fostering preconceived ideas or plans upon the clubs, William R. Moss, Chairman of the Civic Industrial Committee, noted that the Association wished to help the clubs in any way the school administration saw fit.[21] The Association tried to absolve itself from any Machivellian accusations, but it was clear that the clubs were the brain child of the Chicago Association of Commerce and its direction lay in its hands. While the Association was assuring the faculty advisors and the school administrators of their sincere intentions in aiding the clubs, the Association pressed on to control each of the clubs activities. This becomes obvious when one notes the subtle changes in the clubs programs and priorities.

When the clubs were first established, the Association allowed each of them to create its own programs, to improve the internal workings of the school.

The shift occured when the focus of the clubs began to deal with the community as its entire program of activities. This change, occured with a concerted effort in the 1916-1917 school year, to enroll every high school in Chicago into the organization.

The 1916-1917 school year began with a meeting on September 25 that invited every principal of the high schools in Chicago, each club advisor and a faculty member from each high school that had active Civic Industrial Clubs. It is not known how many schools and individuals responded, but each high school became aware of the existance of the Civic Industrial Clubs. The major plan for the year was the unification of the clubs under a single master plan. This was not accomplisned during the year, but a committee of faculty members was named to work with the Civic Industrial Committee to formulate a common plan for all the clubs. One ominous note during this year was that the members of the Parker High School Civic Industrial Club suggested that these clubs be renamed the Junior Chamber of Commerce, since they have similar committees, do similar work and report directly to the Chicago Association of Commerce. Not much was made of this suggestion at this time but within the next two years the idea of Junior Chambers of Commerce located within the high schools caused a controversy. To reinforce this close identity of these clubs with the Association an article written in the Chicago Tribune stated that;

> ... These high school Civic Industrial Clubs are in reality Junior Chambers of Commerce doing for their own school and community the same type of good that the Chicago Association of Commerce is doing for the city of Chicago.[22]

The 1917-1918 school year saw the club membership well over 4,000 students and clubs in 15 of 22 high schools. Unification was again the main goal but it was curtailed this year because of the war. The clubs functions focused on patriotic activities, selling bonds, thrift stamps and gathering provisions for the Red Cross.

The 1918-1919 school year again began with renewed interest in organizing a club in each high school.[23] Another factor became evident in the clubs goals; the preparing the student for "life" or "work".[24] Having properly trained students who would take an active interest in city government was a commendable ideal except that the values given these students would be the businessmens view of society and it would be presented as the only view.

Another factor began to emerge in terms of the rationale for the clubs existance. This rationale became clear with the comments made about McKinley High School. In 1918 McKinley retired the Civic Industrial Club trophy which was awarded to the school with the best program three years running. The Chicago Commerce noted that the trophy was awarded to a

> ... high school ... located in the heart of the most thickly populated section of Chicago and is inhabited very largely by foreign born, and children of foreign born are members of the Civic Industrial Clubs.[25] (my emphasis)

A high school club composed of immigrants and dominated by businessmen could lead to some obvious conclusions. The proper beliefs and attitudes were being instilled in the "foreign born". They were being made" safe for democracy." They were being homogenized into the "melting pot" of Chicago. Their views and philosophies were being shaped by the businessmen of Chicago. Americanization was, I believe, a primary function of these clubs.

Also in 1919, the Association of Commerce used the members of the Civic Industrial Club to report on the status of "foreigners" in Chicago. At one of the meetings organized by the Chicago Association of Commerce, (a good citizenship conference) attended by Civic Industrial Club presidents and faculty advisors, W. R. Moss, the Chairman of the Association Committee on Americanization, "urged the young people of the high school clubs to study as far as possible their neighbors, and learn if any aliens were taking out citizenship papers or were planning to do so."[26] The Association utilized club members to ferret out "aliens" who were not taking out citizenship papers and report them to the Association "... through the children of foreign parents."[27] Since some of the clubs were located in neighborhoods composed of immigrants it was conceivable that the children could report on their families. The businessman feared the adult foreigner because his values and beliefs had not been Americanized through the school system. That the Association had enough confidence in the club members to carry out this function speaks well of their trust in the educational system. More and more the clubs were becoming an appendage of the Chicago Association of Commerce, in both its perspective on society, its community programs, and finally in its name.

In 1919, an article in the Chicago Commerce stated that the high school Civic Industrial Clubs name might be changed to the Junior Chamber of Commerce.[28] The name change became official in the fall of 1919. The editor of the Chicago Commerce noted;

> The Junior Chamber of Commerce, a new and appropriate title for the Civic Industrial Clubs in the high school, which were founded by the Association of Commerce have become important auxiliary centers of education fellowship and citizenship.[29]

After six years of denying that these Civic Industrial Clubs were controlled by the Association, the Association finally admitted the fact that the clubs were in reality an auxiliary organization directed by the Association. With the name change came another effort to influence all of the students in the high school by enrolling everyone of them into the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and establishing a unified plan of operation. The editor of the Chicago Commerce made this quite clear when he noted;

> It is the ambition of the Associations authorities most interested that these children of the great parent, these Junior Associations shall have a membership of 100% in every institution and therefore instructive suggestions are now being offered to the presidents of these organizations whereby their programs may become to some extent standardized and there maybe a systematic purpose running through all great groups to accomplish certain proposed ends, all of which are identified with the broader education promoted by these extra-curricular activities of the high schools.[30]

By having total student enrollment in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and using a centrally devised program the Association had a perfect mechanism to teach the students the business view of society. Direct control of the Junior Chambers ideology and programs was now the official policy of the Chicago Association of Commerce.

Labors Challenge to These Clubs

The influence of the businessmen of Chicago through the high school Civic Industrial Clubs did not go unnoticed. Ida Clatt, of the Woman's Trade Union League, told an audience, at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, of a poster sent by the Chicago Association to all the high school Civic Industrial

Clubs. It suggested to them it would be desirable to change the name of the club. The Chicago Federation of Labor objected to this change because of a psychological effect the name change would have upon the students. Glatt further noted the Associations motives in these clubs had been recognized. By changing the name, the Federation of Labor expected an intensification of the antagonism to the working class in the minds of the pupils. After studying the problem the Federation strongly denounced the name change. They argued that the close affiliation of the public school with the employers was a violation of democracy in the public school system. Since the Association of Commerce was organized to promote the businessman's interest, it would not look favorably upon working class problems. The Federation especially feared the Association would indoctrinate the children of the workers, during their most impressionable years, to the values of those who would exploit their fathers. They viewed this as a clever and strategic move.

However, the Federation noted that these high school clubs did have some good programs such as civics and social hygiene education. But there was, they noted, a class interest running through some of the other monthly programs, especially those held at the Association's headquarters. Also at those programs where businessmen spoke to the children at school assemblies, no labor representatives give their views to the children. The interest on the part of the Association of Commerce in civic activities in the high school ran parallel to its welfare work, and its contributions to societies and organizations which had a stablilizing influence in the community. This, the Federation argued, had a tendency to keep the worker content with the job he held and the wages he was paid. The Federation supported the idea that, the psychological influence of this

affiliation with the student, was worse than direct and open propaganda in support of the capitalist class. The Committee on Schools of the Federation of Labor condemned the Association in its attempt to corrupt youthful ideals and the conscripting of high school boys to the employer class. Since ninety per cent of the students in these clubs were children of working parents, the control upon them by the Association through these Junior Associations of Commerce could alienate them from their families. The Federation demanded the Board of Education stop the Junior Associations and if that failed, to allow the Federation to establish Junior Federations of Labor. The struggle came to an end when the Association changed the name back to the high school Civic Industrial Clubs. This interestingly enough seemed to placate the Federation of Labor, as it took no further action against the clubs.[31]

The shifting of the name back to the civic industrial clubs had little effect on the goals of these clubs. In fact the old goals of civic pride and community involvement took a back seat to a more business oriented philosophy. The 1920 annual report noted that the purpose of these clubs was to "...stimulate interest in civic objectives and such business and professional objectives as the students will relate themselves to upon completing their high school courses."[32] The major emphasis was placed on the club members becoming more sympathetic to the role that businessmen played in Chicago and to their particular place in the social structure. By the end of 1920 these clubs had grown to a total membership of over 20,000 of the 35,000 high school students.[33]

High School Press Club

Also during 1920 the Associations organized the High School Press Club. Raymond W. Schultz a member of the Association, thought it might be wise to utilize the schools newspapers to extend the influence of the Association through this media. He observed that "the high school student usually reads the school magazine from cover to cover."[34] One could influence many students by controlling what went into the papers or more subtly giving the editors a particular slant on a topic. At a luncheon held for the editors of high school publications, Elbert Drew, Chairman of the Civic Industrial Committee, asked the editors how the committee could assist them? "Will it help you if we secure articles from successful businessmen for publication in your paper?"[35] The opinion of the editors was unanimous, they stated it would "have great value."[36] The editors had little choice, it would seem, in making any but the above decision. The Association began to use the press for its own ends. The 1922 annual report noted that the "offices of the Civic Industrial Committee are more extensively using the local high school publications in promoting the objectives of the club."[37] The papers printed articles that reflected the views of businessmen, e.g., some articles dealt with what a businessman looks for in the individuals he hires. The characteristics necessary for a job they noted were honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, obedience and willingness. Businessmen apparently wanted a worker who followed orders cheerfully, never questioned his superior and worked diligently. It was not a coincidence that among those qualities listed by businessmen for a worker to possess ambition was on the bottom half of the list.

A pamphlet written by the Association in 1922, further dramatized the businessmans' role in aiding the student in locating a job. One of the more interesting objectives of this pamphlet was the promotion of vocational guidance. The pamphlet suggested that speakers, usually personnel managers, talk to the clubs each month on how students should present themselves while being interviewed for a job.[38] The Association, it would seem, was trying to show a student how to act in the presence of a superior, especially if the student had something to sell. The booklets authors noted;

> Poise is a powerful indication of character. Together with personal appearance it forms our advance guard. To sell ourselves to the other fellow... we must employ all phases of courtesy and be careful not to disturb his or her sense of harmony through careless dress crashing color schemes, or other things that do not match our physical make up or personality.[39]

By appearing properly attired the student would then "sell" himself to a potential employer. He would have a better chance of being hired if he followed this advice. The emphasis placed on proper deportment, especially in how to dress, may have been the result of these clubs having a large number of immigrants as members. The authors of the pamphlet may have believed that these students would have little idea of how to properly present themselves to a potential employer. The implication was quite clear, the person would be hired if he adopted the businessmens preconceived notions of how a worker should look and act, thereby reinforcing the stereotype of the immigrant in the lower working class. Another program that dovetailed into the above was designed to help the student choose a vocation. The club members were asked to fill out a card stating their preference for a particular vocation. The reason for such a concern can be seen for the rationale given by the Association of Commerce in the pamphlet.

> There are altogether too many misfits in the business world; and it is a very deplorable situation. One of the Red Letter periods of your life is the day we embark upon the vocation that is entirely fitted to our ability, personality and physique.[40]

Guided by businessmen, choosing a proper vocation was a very important step. But from the quote, the implication might be that these children belonged in positions that suited their social status as defined by businessmen.[41]

The Disbanding of the Civic Industrial Clubs

The organizing of the Press Clubs was the last major function of the Civic Industrial Committee. In 1922 the Civic Industrial Committee of the Association was expanded to 25 members, one member for each high school in Chicago. The chairman of the newly reorganized committee noted these 25 men were to visit the clubs, keep in contact with the school principal, the faculty advisors and club presidents.[42] The Association also sent a monthly newsletter to the faculty advisors and club presidents. Clearly the clubs were organized for the benefit of businessmen, and it was assumed that what was good for businessmen was good for the students. This was demonstrated by one of the clubs' activities, the Clean-Up, Paint-Up Program.

This program was begun in 1912 by Allen W. Clark a St. Louis paint salesman, to promote his products. It was adopted by the Association as part of its Civic Industrial Club Program. The schools were being used to promote the sale of paint. However the Chicago Commerce was quick to point out that the campaign was more than just promotion but was aimed at "personal, moral, physical and community betterment."[43] The increase of paint sales, was of course, secondary.

This Clean-Up, Paint-Up Program during the remainder of the 1920's supplanted the Civic Industrial Clubs. In 1923 this Paint-Up Program was part of the activities of the Civic Industrial Clubs. However, by 1927, the Civic Industrial Committee was disband and its functions distributed among various other committees notably the Committee on Americanization, and the Vocational Guidance Committee. The ideals and goals of the Civic Industrial Clubs were carried out in part by the new Clean-Up, Paint-Up Program. John R. MacGregor the Chairman of this new program helped extend its influence into the elementary as well as junior high schools. He noted in the Associations 1928 annual report "that practically every school child from kindergarten through the junior college in the 24 high school districts takes an active part in the campaign in some form or other."[44]

In conclusion a quote from Peter J. Martenson, Chicago Superintendent of Schools best sums up the impact of the Association in the schools.

> It is gratifying to note the cooperation between the Association of Commerce and the school, as exemplified in the Civic Industrial Clubs.... In the days to come civic responsibility must be developed to a point not yet reached if democracy is to succeed. This work is not charity but a precaution, in order that urban centers grow better for our children and those who are to live with them.[45]

To train the students for civic responsibility, to promote democratic government and improve city life hardly seem a dire threat to ones individuals beliefs. However close examination reveals that the point of view of society, democracy and civic responsibility the students received was that of the capitalist, the businessmen of Chicago who gave the student the "right" and "correct" outlook on society.

Summary and Conclusion

The organizing of the Civic Industrial Clubs in 1914, was another extention of the influence of the Chicago businessmen in the public schools.[46] During the first years of the twentieth century their power was firmly established in the schools by their memberships on the Chicago Board of Education and various advisory committees to the public school system.[47]

Businessmen involved themselves with the education of immigrants because of their fear of the foreigner. A vast number of Southern and Eastern European immigrants arrived in America during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century. These so called "new" immigrants" traditions, values and lack of education aroused fears in the conservative businessmen. The response to these immigrants children focused in two areas; education and Americanization. In Chicago, vocational education and the high school clubs were two mechanizisms utilized to make the immigrant and his children safe for democracy.

Vocational education may be viewed as class education, particularly in Chicago, where in 1910, two thirds of the school population was second generation immigrant.[48] Manual arts were introduced as early as the kindergarten in order to guide the child into the strata of society he was perceived to belong. Given the racist theories of Anglo superiority over the Southern and Eastern European immigrant, the teaching of social values and ones station in society becomes more crucial than the teaching of a particular skill.[49] Cooperation between the classes was a major tenent of the early twentieth century Sociologists.[50]

Manual Arts was to instill into the student a spirit of cooperation. From the Kindergarten onward, the desire was to correct improper economic and social beliefs and to adjust the immigrants to the American ideology. Cooperation would help the immigrant to understand the immage of himself in relationship to other classes in society. The school would rationalize for the child that their future role as a worker was important in reference to the community, and that all classes needed to pull together to create a viable society. The definition of cooperation takes on a value laden meaning when applied by the businessmen of Chicago to the immigrant. The schools, they believed, trained these students to fit into the lower strata of the community. Educating the man, his interests and desires was subordinated to educating the citizen for his place in the community. Therefore the individuals ability and status was prejudged on account of his ethnic group. That is racism.

The extra curricular activities organized by the Chicago Association of Commerce obviously had the training for cooperation as one objective of its Civic Industrial Clubs. The organization of these three clubs, Civic Industrial, Presidents and Press, created a climate for the Association of Commerce to carry out their perspective of how society should be ordered and the proper place for the student/worker in the community:

1. Cooperation between the classes. These clubs were organized to foster a notion of where the student fit into a class biased, racist society. Also, the attempt to change the name of the Civic Industrial Club to the Junior Chamber of Commerce, created opposition in the labor unions. They feared that the name change was a method of psychological warfare, pitting the children of the immigrant against their parents, in terms of the child assuming the managements position in viewing the role of the worker.

2. Vocational Guidence. Was used by the Association to council the students to either remain in school or select for them a position that suited their character and ability. One might wonder how many of the students were counseled into a white collar job or into college.[51]

3. Economic and political values. The businessmen, through these clubs, made sure that the students were properly instructed through excursions to factories and lectures on the role of business in America. The fear of the businessmen was that the children of the immigrants might have caught the diseases of Socialism, Anarchism or Bolshevism from their parents. The cure was naturally, a strong does of capitalism given every day, all day. The perspective the club members received was not objective nor was it consistent with the attitudes of their working class fathers. Politically the same situation existed. The businessmen trying to end ward politics and the corruption they saw as detremential to society. The real fear was that the immigrant majority would control the city if the old political structure, the ward, was not reorganized.[52]

A fundamental purpose of the businessman was to stabilize the economy to guarantee continued profits. This was a major factor in rationalizing their involvement in reforming the schools, especially when one realizes the benefits businessmen would receive from the students that were tailored for business needs in a public system of education.[53]

Businessmen during the early 1900's looked to the schools to perform certain tasks. Business needed vocationally skilled workers. More importantly, they needed workers who would acquire a specific set of character traits: such as punctuality, responsibility, obedience, respect of property and docility. In

short, the businessmen needed an individual who would be capable of quickly adjusting to the factory system. The worker, they noted, should believe that his role was an important part of the system. Furthermore businessmen wanted workers who would not question their status or the status of their employer. Thus the ideal worker would be a good American, never questioning the State or the economic philosophy that was an essential part of Corporate America. Businessmen used the school and the extra curricular activities to shape this type of individual. The inculcating of social values and knowing ones position in society was more important than trying to educate the man to his fullest potential.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Sola, "Vocational Guidance Intergrating School and Society in Chicago, 1912-1916" (Unpublished Article, 1974).

2. Chicago Association of Commerce, Annual Report of 1912, p. 58.

3. Ibid., p. 59.

4. Chicago Association of Commerce, Annual Report of 1914, p. 36.

5. "Civic Industrial Clubs Organized in High Schools by Association Committee Help to Make Greater Chicago," Chicago Commerce, October 2, 1914, p. 11.

6. Chicago Association of Commerce, Annual Report of 1914, p. 37.

7. "Civic Industrial Clubs Organize in High Schools by Association Committee Help to Make Greater Chicago," Chicago Commerce, October 2, 1914, p. 11.

8. Ibid., p. 12.

9. Ibid., p. 12.

10. "Making Good Citizens," Chicago Commerce, October 9, 1914, p. 8.

11. "Civic Industrial School Clubs," Chicago Commerce, October 30, 1914, p. 26.

12. George Counts, School and Society in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 154.

13. "High School Students and Chicago," Chicago Commerce, February 26, 1915, p. 7.

14. "Sixteen High Schools Have Now Organized Civic Industrial Clubs," Chicago Commerce, May 21, 1915, p. 6.

15. Chicago Association of Commerce, Annual Report of 1915, p. 38.

16. "Civic Industrial Committee Renews Important Service in Aid to Civic Industrial Clubs in High Schools," Chicago Commerce, October 8, 1915, p. 4.

17. "High School Civic Industrial Clubs Resume Meetings and Excursions," Chicago Commerce, October 8, 1915, p. 5.

18. "Notably Unanimous Testimony to the Value of Civic Industrial Clubs Organized in Fifteen High Schools by Association of Commerce - How the Faculty Advisors Appraise the Unique Work," Chicago Commerce, July 9, 1915, p. 17.

19. "Civic Industrial Clubs," Chicago Commerce, November 26, 1915, p. 11.

20. Ibid.

21. "Stimulating Conference of Civic Industrial Committee With Representatives of High School Authorities and Students," Chicago Commerce, April 14, 1916, p. 3.

22. "New Civic Industrial Club," Chicago Commerce, March 23, 1917, p. 8.

23. "Representatives of Civic Industrial Clubs of High School Meet at Dinner With Association Civic Committee," Chicago Commerce, October 17, 1918, p. 11.

24. Ibid.

25. Chicago Commerce, November 29, 1918, p. 18.

26. "Civic Industrial Clubs of High Schools in Conference Over Work for Organizations and City." Chicago Commerce, February 20, 1919, p. 16.

27. Ibid., p. 17.

28. "McKinley High School Wins Civic Industrial Prize," Chicago Commerce, July 12, 1919, p. 11.

29. "Junior Associations of Commerce," Chicago Commerce, October 4, 1919, p. 24.

30. Ibid.

31. Chicago Association of Commerce. Minutes of the Executive Committee, Meeting of December 12, 1919, p. 331: Also Minutes of the Executive Committee, Meeting of February 6, 1920, p. 24. (Typewritten): Also The New Majority, (Chicago), November 8, 1919, p. 8; and December 13, 1919, p. 5.

32. Chicago Association of Commerce. Annual Report of 1920, p. 36.

33. Ibid.

34. "The Student and Himself," Chicago Commerce, December 11, 1920, p. 22.

35. "Business Leaders Council High School Boys," Chicago Commerce, June 16, 1923, p. 19.

36. Ibid.

37. Chicago Association of Commerce, Annual Report of 1922, p. 25.

38. Chicago Association of Commerce. Guide Booklet for Establishing Civic Industrial Clubs in Your School. (Chicago: Chicago Association of Commerce, 1921), p. 10.

39. Ibid., p. 18.

40. Ibid.

41. Peter Sola, "Vocational Guidance Integrating School and Society in Chicago, 1912-16." (Unpublished Article, 1974).

42. Chicago Association of Commerce. Annual Report of 1922, p. 25: also Annual Report of 1923, p. 21.

43. "Clean-Up Work Proves to be Civic Asset," Chicago Commerce, May 19, 1923, p. 13.

44. Chicago Association of Commerce. Annual Report of 1928, p. 48.

45. "Clean-Up Work Proves to be Civic Asset," Chicago Commerce, May 19, 1923, pp. 14-35.

46. George Counts, School and Society in Chicago, (Chicago: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1928).

47. George Counts, Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Education, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 45-50; 133-164.

48. Quoted in David Tyack, The One Best System, (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1974), p. 178.

49. Peter Sola, "Plutocrats, Pedagogues and Plebes: Business Influences on Vocational Education and Extra Curricular Activities in the Chicago High Schools 1899-1925" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972).

50. Clarence Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), pp. 40-83.

51. Peter Sola, "Vocational Guidance Intergating School and Society in Chicago, 1912-1916," (Unpublished Article, 1974).

52. Peter Filene, "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," American Quarterly (Spring 1970), p. 23. Also Samuel Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (October 1964).

53. Clarence Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), pp. 6-29.